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## **Soviet Union**

### **PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA**

No 6, November-December 1987

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**Soviet Union**  
**PEOPLES OF ASIA & Africa**  
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[The following is a translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated.]

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## PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA

No 6, November-December 1987

### English Summaries of Major Articles

18070064a Moscow *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI* in  
English No 6, Nov-Dec 87 pp 213-216

[Text]

## THE GREAT OCTOBER AND NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES OF AFRICA

M.Yu. Frenkel

The article examines the genesis of the ideology of national revolutionaries in Africa. It shows that this ideology began to form in 1920-30s under a direct influence of the Great October socialist revolution. From the author's point, national revolutionaries can be considered as fore-runners of the contemporary revolutionary democracy: they have close views, similar strong and weak positions, common aspirations for the scientific socialism.

The ideology of national revolutionary organizations was based upon the radical petty-bourgeois nationalism. Its left wing was formed by national revolutionaries who fought not only for the abolition of colonialism, but put forward plans of social transformations. They considered the independence both as a final aim and a prerequisite for the construction of a fair society. Their ideological outlook was founded on common democratic nationalistic features of oppressed nations—the anti-imperialism and the anti-colonialism. They were supplemented with certain populist conceptions, social Utopian schemes, elements of the criticism of capitalism, some principles of the scientific socialism. The national revolutionaries strived for common actions with European and American revolutionaries.

The article includes information concerning several outstanding African revolutionaries of that time, highlights the activities of the majority of notable national revolutionary organizations in Africa.

## DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

V.P. Kurbatov

For the years of people's power the population of China practically doubled and by the end of 1986 reached 1.0608 billion. About a half of it is the youth below the marital age. It means that the population growth in China will continue also in the beginning of the 21st century.

After the formation of the Chinese People's Republic two "demographic explosions" occurred in the country: in mid 50s (during the period of 1954-1960 130 million people were born) and from 1962 to 1971 when the net annual increase of population exceeded 20 million.

An appraisal of various demographic situations showed that if, from 1980, each new family had only one child, and families with children did not have more children, the population of the country would grow constantly during 25 years. In case of families with two children the population will grow during 72 years and by the centenary of the Chinese People's Republic, in 2049 it will exceed 1.5 billion. Taking these prognoses into account, already in 1979 the task was set of stabilizing the population by the year 2000 at the level of 1.2 billion. It can be achieved only if each family has not more than one child. The necessity of the policy "one family—one child" was convincingly confirmed by third population census organized with the help of the United Nations.

Explanatory activities of the government and public organizations in combination with financial and economic as well as moral measures allowed to considerably reduce the birth-rate in 1980s and contributed to the acceptance of the policy of a family with one child by many million young people in China. At the same time this policy meets with certain obstacles, especially in rural areas. For economic and religious motives peasants are willing to have more boys. In some places a strict application of this policy provoked painful consequences.

The employment of Chinese population is one of the most difficult economic and demographic problems. Only during the VIIth Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) more than 140 million people are to be employed. This situation is particularly grave in rural areas where a surplus labor force is about 30-40 percent, and in some regions reaches 60 percent of the rural labor force. It is assumed that during the VIIth Five-Year Plan about 100 million people will be released from the agricultural sphere. This labor force is planned to be used for the development of non-agricultural branches in rural areas and the conversion of the rural population into the urban by the creation of small towns and settlements. According to the existing prognoses the population of the Chinese towns (212 million in 1985) will reach 480 million by the year 2000.

## INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT: CONTEMPORARY STRATEGY AND DEVELOPMENT

G.N. Anulova

The article analyzes the shifts in activities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) occurred in the current decade, caused by serious changes in the situation of developing countries in

the system of world capitalist economy and by the aggravation of the problem of international liabilities. It elucidates the reasons of a stronger influence of the Bank on development strategies and economic policy of countries-debtors. A thorough consideration is given to the factors which determine the balance of forces between different groups of States in this organization. The study focuses its attention on new principles and methods of IBRD operations, specifically, the creation and quick extension of the "structural adjustment loans" in contrast to the traditional allocation of the Bank's resources to specific projects. The author highlights the substance and the main aims of the IBRD recommendations in the field of reorganization of national economic structures in newly liberated States, as well as the consequences of programs of economic and political reforms proposed by the Bank, and the interests which are behind these proposals. The role of the Bank is demonstrated as a "catalyst" of the flow of private long-term credits and direct investments, a "co-ordinator" in the system of financing of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

#### **WESTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE ROLE OF LIBERATED STATES IN THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

V.P. Pankratiev

The article appraises the systematic approach of a number of western politological schools to the problem of place and role of developing countries in international relations, retraces the evolution of western conceptions from the ignoring of young States in the system of international relations at the tightest point of anti-colonial struggle in 1950-60s to their forced partial "recognition" after the collapse of colonial system in mid 70s, however not as an autonomous community but as "elements" completely integrated in the capitalist system. The latter does not correspond to the reality. The liberated States of Asia, Africa and Latin America take a particular place in this structure: staying in the system of world capitalist economy, more exactly, in the zone of its exploited "periphery," they do not enter into the political system of capitalism but unite to protect their own specific interests and their sovereignty from the encroachments of industrialized capitalist States, to promote their social and economic development and to overcome the burden of their colonial past.

The process of involvement of liberated States in the international division of labor entailed the emergence of conceptions of "interdependence," "modernization" etc. The use raw materials and labor resources of developing countries with their connection to the production needs of multinational corporations is the quintessence of such conceptions. The advocates of the "interdependence conception" affirm that the western technology is the panacea which will save the developing countries from poverty and backwardness. Admitting complications of the liberated States' involvement in western

military alliances in the present situation, they recommend to create so called "informal alliances" which would allow to observe in appearance the sovereignty of developing countries but to violate it in cases when the "interests" of the West are concerned.

#### **EUROPEAN AND FAR EASTERN CONCEPTS IN THE IDEOLOGY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM AND PEOPLE'S RIGHTS IN JAPAN (1870-80s)**

Yu.D. Mikhaylova

In the studies of the Movement for Freedom and People's Rights (Jiyu minken undo) scientists usually pay more attention to the fact of influence of European social and political thought on Japan. The analysis of the works of Nakae Chomin, Ueki Emori, Oi Kentaro shows their close connection with traditional Far Eastern teachings such as confucianism and sintoism. A good knowledge of Chinese classics made them possible to explain to the Japanese alien and unfamiliar European ideas with the help of terms and concepts formed in Chinese tradition. Thus, the term "Natural rights" was translated as "Rights bestowed by Heaven." The concept of freedom was explained by means of Mencius' notion of "passion-nature" (kozen-no ki) and confucian concept of man's original nature. The explanation given by the thinkers of the movement to the idea of freedom of spirit was the logical development of the concept of human nature which had been formed in Japan in the 17-19th centuries and which has developed from Chu Hsi's requirement of restraining the nature by moral precepts to Norinaga's ideas of liberating the nature by free expression of feelings. In the understanding of the concept of people's rights one can see the liaison of the western formula "the man who pays incomes must take part in the government" and the confucian concept of Will of Heaven as Will of People. The popularity in Japan of the sinto concept of the single and eternal imperial dynasty and the great role of the idea of "revering the emperor" during the Meiji Restoration influenced the fact that even the radicals of the movement didn't plan the establishment of a republic in Japan, their projects of constitution envisaged the creation of a constitutional monarchy. The interaction of the Far Eastern and European concepts in the Movement for Freedom and People's Rights is a good example of the way of adaptation of foreign culture in Japan.

#### **CONTEXTUALIZATION OF CATHOLICISM IN THE PHILIPPINES**

I.V. Podberezsky

The article examines the reasons of the conception of a spiritual radicalism on the Philippines, which resulted in the development of local versions of the "liberation theology." The emergence of the left-Christian ideology

was caused by a feeling of dissatisfaction of common believers with their social and political situation, in particular, during the dictatorship of the ex-president F. Marcos.

The liberation theology exists on the Philippines in three versions, each of them being a theological foundation of resolute, even forcible, actions aimed at the social and political change of the society structure. The theology of the *Total salvation* is developed by the Jesuit Carlos Abesamis maintaining that in Asia and, specifically, in the Philippines the salvation in Christian terms must include not only the salvation of soul, but also the salvation from hunger, poverty, illnesses which urges a reorganization of the society. Another Jesuit, Catalino Arevalo put forward the theory of *Signs of the times* which calls to consider earthly matters as the realization of the God's conceptions and to contribute by all means to this realization; to attain this aim the Church must first of all take side of the poor. The theory of *Social reforms* is developed by a monk of the *Divine word society*, Edicio de la Torre who calls to co-operate with the Marxists. This theology is a version of the Philippine left-Christian nationalism in its most radical form.

However the emergence of the liberation theologies didn't mean that the whole Catholic church in the Philippines suddenly shifted to the left. Both the local hierarchy and the Vatican warned more than once against too resolute actions, but at the same time used adroitly the left-radical Christian movement to keep up the authority of the Catholic church.

#### **"MODELS OF A MAN" IN TRADITIONAL CULTURES**

M.M. Lebedeva, V.M. Sergeev

The study grounds the necessity to explore "models of a man," which reflect how a person is seen in a given historical period and society. The exploration of these models in use in different societies can facilitate the understanding of decision-making logics and of sets of principles on which individuals base their deeds.

Among the central elements of the "model of a man" there are values, which are reflected, in particular, in fairy tales and myths. The study presents the results of value examination of fairy tales and myths of African peoples, Australian aborigines and Papuan. Three main groups of values were studied: the biological necessities as a value; social norms and relations; individual attributes of a person. It is shown that the hierarchy of values is specific for each culture, and is very much relevant to the general level of a society development. Changes in this hierarchy during the process of historic development occur on the way of the better expression of individual capacities of a person as a special value.

The study allows to set some further ways of structure-semantic text analysis.

#### **ON THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF THE NOTION OF "FEUDALISM"**

V.P. Iliushechkin

The author demonstrates that the definition of feudalism and the ancient slave-owning as social modes of production and corresponding social structures originates from the work of K. Marx "To the criticism of political economy" where they are enumerated as such modes. He proves that in this case Marx was virtually obliged to merely rename in modes of production the slave-owning and feudal-serfdom stages of social evolution extracted from the historical and social scheme of A. Saint-Simon, because it was necessary to give an enumeration of pre-bourgeois modes of production but at that time the science did not dispose yet of satisfactory data for their definition and distinction.

As the article asserts, the meaning of the notion of "feudalism" before its reinterpretation by Saint-Simon was the most true: "a political and legal system of organization and management of certain estate and class societies dealing with the hierarchy of vassal-suzerain relations and the political parcelling of the countries where the feudalism dominated." In this meaning the feudalism can be compared only with other forms of political and legal organization of estate and class societies of the antiquity, and is the antipode of the latter.

The author contends also that all the estate and class societies of the antiquity, the Middle Ages and the modern time had the same social mode of production characterized, from the point of view of the system of productive forces, by manual wooden and metal instruments of labor put in motion by the muscular force of the man and domestic animals as well as the force of wind and water flows (the natural type of production techniques), and from the point of the historical type of relations of production—by a pre-capitalist rental type of the private-ownership exploitation and the economic realization of the exploiter ownership on means of production in the process of production and distribution.

The described mode of production is identified in the article as a pre-capitalist rental mode and the corresponding social structure—as an estate and class structure.

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### **Role of International Development Bank in Third World Assessed**

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[Article by G.N. Anulova: "The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Contemporary Strategy and Tactics"]

[Text] Studying issues in the activity of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)<sup>1</sup> [World Bank] has taken on especial topicality in recent years. The World Bank is moving to the forefront in a whole set of international relations associated with one of the principal problems of the contemporary world capitalist economy—settling the crisis situation in the realm of foreign indebtedness of the developing countries. In this article, the author considers the principal strategic tasks of the World Bank at the present time, the reasons for the rise in the role of this organization in international regulation in the sphere of indebtedness and the factors that define the "political face" of the World Bank and its evolution, as well as the consequences of its policies for the developing countries and for the world capitalist economy overall.

\* \* \*

Shifts in the activity of the World Bank in this decade are associated with serious changes in the position of the developing countries in the world capitalist economic system. The 1970s have been typified by growth in the share of the states of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the aggregate GNP and exports of the non-socialist world, their high economic growth rates and an abundant influx of foreign financial resources to them. The notable successes of the young states have stimulated their advancement of demands for the establishment of a new international economic order. Since the beginning of the present decade, however, the economic situation of the developing countries has seriously worsened. The majority of them have encountered an unprecedented tightening of world economic conditions for reproduction—the consequences of cyclical and structural crises and the strengthening of the overall instability of the world capitalist economy. Protectionist tendencies have taken the upper hand in the economic policy of many of the industrial capitalist states, and the credit and foreign-currency situation and "trade conditions" have worsened sharply overall for the developing countries. All of this was reflected in the "debt crisis" that took shape in 1982. In recent years the acuity of the problem of foreign indebtedness has not weakened, and it continues to have

an extremely negative effect on the economic growth rates and social stability of the developing countries and their positions in the international arena. In 1986 the total foreign debts of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, referring to World Bank figures as reported by the Reuters news agency, had reached 1.035 trillion dollars compared to 992 billion in the preceding year. Debt payments (over 100 billion dollars a year) have become a heavy burden for the economies of the majority of the developing countries.

The situation in the realm of foreign indebtedness is in essence an expression of the crisis of the former model for the participation of the liberated countries in the international capitalist division of labor. The expenditure of national resources to obtain a unit of foreign currency, given the extant level of efficiency of domestic production and the prevailing system of international economic relations, systematically exceeds the economic impact from using it. This also engenders a constant need for a net influx of foreign financial resources and, consequently, an increase in indebtedness.

The relative accessibility of foreign financing in the 1970s made it possible for many countries to postpone the impending changes in export and domestic-consumption patterns. In the period after 1982, the influx of foreign capital to the developing countries declined, first and foremost in view of the aspirations of the multinational banks to "get out of the game," which had become too risky for them. At the same time, the debt payments of the developing countries grew sharply. As a result, they were actually transformed into "donors" for the developed capitalist countries (Table 1). This provokes the harsh necessity of adapting to new conditions of national-economic structures by the developing countries, whose inclusion in the international division of labor has been linked for a long time with the receipt of large amounts of foreign financial resources. Price declines for power commodities are having analogous consequences for the oil-exporting developing countries, since the high level of these prices in the preceding decade essentially turned the income from them into a source of preferential foreign financing.

Table 1. Net Transfer of Resources to Capital-Importing Developing Countries 1979-1986 %

Types of Financing	1979-81*	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
All types of credit						
—net influx**	54.9	50.8	39.7	32.0	13	—
—interest payments	-25.2	-50.0	-48.3	-53.9	-54	—
Direct investments						
—receipts	11.4	12.0	8.9	8.5	9	8.8
—withdrawal of profits	-12.9	-13.1	-11.6	-11.3	-13	—
Official unreimbursed assistance	12.6	10.7	11.0	12.3	14	13.7
Total (net transfer)	40.8	10.4	-0.3	-12.5	-31	—
IMF credit						
—received by the developing countries	4.8	8.8	12.2	11.8	6.4	4.9
—principal payments	-5.1	-2.2	-1.7	-2.1	-2.7	-5.2
—interest payments	-0.8	-1.2	-1.7	-2.5	-3.0	-3.4
—net influx of IMF resources to the developing countries	-1.1	5.4	8.8	7.2	0.6	-3.7
World Bank credit						
—received by the developing countries	4.4	6.3	6.8	8.6	8.6	8.3
—principal payments	-1.1	-1.7	-2.2	-2.8	-3.0	-3.9
—interest payments	-1.9	-2.2	-1.7	-3.2	-3.5	-4.7
—net influx of World Bank resources to the developing countries	1.4	2.4	2.99	2.6	2.1	-0.3
IDA credit***	1.5	2.1	2.6	2.5	2.5	3.2

Source: UN World Economic Survey 1986. N.Y., 1986, pp 156-157; IMF Annual Reports; World Bank Annual Reports. Washington. For the corresponding years.

\*—Average annual data.

\*\*—New credit minus principal payments for old credit within the same period.

\*\*\*—All IDA credit is a net influx of financial resources to the developing countries, since it is interest-free and principal payments have not yet begun.

A structural restructuring of the national economy of the industrial capitalist states at the new stage of scientific and technical revolution has a tendency to reduce demand for the products of the traditional export sectors of the young states; this threatens a further worsening of their overall economic, financial and foreign-currency situations. At the same time, for those liberated countries that have been able to hook into the "microelectronic revolution" in the modern world, and to the extent that they have been able to do this, new opportunities are being created for accelerating economic growth, increasing the benefits from participation in the international division of labor and settling indebtedness. All of this testifies to the urgent need for profound changes in the whole structure of the economies of the developing countries. A sharp struggle both within the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America themselves and in the international arena has developed around the question of in what direction the objectively conditioned structural adaptation of the economies of the liberated countries will proceed.

International financial and foreign-currency organizations play an especially important role in the mutual relations between the West and the liberated countries under these conditions. Their advance into key positions is explained by a series of circumstances. The financial and foreign-currency sphere in which the World Bank, as well as the IMF, operates is a "sore spot" today for most of the developing countries. One must further keep in mind that the World Bank and the IMF possess gigantic financial potential: the statutory capital of the IMF comprises about 100 billion dollars; for the World Bank, it is about 80 billion dollars (including 7 billion as payments), and it also handles more than 65 billions dollars of invested funds. There are no other financial organs in the world whose jurisdiction would actually extend to the developing countries—some 120 independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America are members of the IMF and the World Bank today. The Fund and the Bank have the capability of "rescuing" countries with credit that are on the brink of bankruptcy due to foreign indebtedness. In granting credit the IMF and the World Bank, with some outward traits of being above nationality, put before sovereign governments economic and political terms that no Western government or commercial bank, at least formally, has the right to do. The steps proposed by the Fund and the Bank have the appearance of dispassionate recommendations of a competent organ devoid of state affiliations. The combination of the aforementioned advantages has given the IMF and the World Bank an extremely influential voice in the struggle for direction around resolving issues of development strategy and economic policy for this or that debtor country.

Including the international financial organizations under consideration in the process of settling the "debt crisis" of the developing countries has been a gradual occurrence. At first, starting in 1982, the principal regulatory organ was the IMF. This was facilitated by the presence in the Fund of a developed tool for intervention in managing the economy of the debtor country—the so-called "stabilization programs"—whose adoption it required in exchange for

credit. One of the basic goals of the IMF, as is well known, is to improve the state of the balance of payments of the member countries. The leadership of the fund has taken monetarist positions on this issue from time immemorial, considering the main reason for the imbalance in foreign payments to be excess monetary demand in the country. The same approach was also initially extended to solving the debt problem in the developing countries, which was outwardly manifested in the form of crises in their balance of payments. Programs of "strict economy" were foisted on the debtor countries in which the principal stress was laid on reducing imports, domestic credit and the money supply, limiting budgetary spending (state investments, subsidies, the conversion of state enterprises), raising taxes on the population and reducing wages.

In the past, countries that had fallen into a difficult financial and economic situation had the opportunity of avoiding appeals to the IMF. They resorted to credit from commercial banks—more expensive, but not linked with any political conditions. With the onset of the debt crisis in the developing countries, however, the West began to structure its policies in such a way as to make it almost impossible to "skirt" the Fund. The commercial banks began to grant debt deferments and new credit to this or that country only on the condition that it enter immediately into negotiations with the IMF for the purpose of coordinating a "stabilization program." The "Club of Paris" (an informal association of Western states that serves as a forum for negotiations in reviewing government debts) in turn waits for official allocations of funds by the Fund directorate before making a final decision on the deferment of state indebtedness. The significance of the IMF in the world capitalist economy is defined overall not so much by the amounts of its intrinsic credit as it is by the influence of its decisions on the influx of foreign financing to the developing countries from any other sources.

At the same time, the most far-sighted representatives of bourgeois economic science and business circles had already long been pointing out the danger of the excessive increase of the Fund's requirements for "belt-tightening." In recent years, a mighty wave of demonstrations against the credit terms of the IMF in Argentina, Brazil, the Philippines and other countries is clearly troubling the U.S. administration and the governments of other capitalist countries. The lack of correspondence of the "deflationary" prescriptions of the Fund to the interests of export expansion by Western firms has also become apparent. The short-term settlement of the debt crisis via the transfer of payment deadlines and the introduction of strict economy measures only postpones the debt problem into the future. The issue of debt payments is getting even worse insofar as the borrower countries are continuing to pay what are essentially double interest rates for both old and deferred credit. It is noteworthy that in the 1985 fiscal year, four developing countries were unable to pay their obligations to the IMF. In 1986, according to reports in the Western press, the number of such countries had increased to 20.<sup>2</sup> The FINANCIAL TIMES described this situation as a "political embarrassment for the industrialized world."<sup>3</sup> The onset of payment deadlines for the



large sums of credit granted by the Fund at the beginning of the 1980s to overcome the first outbursts of the debt crisis has created another problem. The net influx of resources going to the developing countries from the IMF has begun to be expressed as a negative quantity (see Table 1), which has weakened its ability to have an influence on the economic policies of the borrower countries.

The West sees a way out of this situation in raising the role of the World Bank in the whole set of relations associated with the foreign-indebtedness crisis of the developing countries. This line has been officially expressed in the "Baker Plan," advanced by the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury at the annual IMF/World Bank session in Seoul in October of 1985. The essence of this plan, called a "global deal" by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, consists of the West's promising to expand the

granting of financial resources to the 15 largest debtor countries in exchange for their execution of extensive economic reforms according to Western recommendations. The plan envisages in particular a doubling of the amount of credit to the developing countries by the World Bank and regional development banks in 1986-88 (the latter grant an additional 27 billion dollars). Notwithstanding the statements in the declaration about preserving the central role of the IMF in the global strategy for settling indebtedness, these functions are actually largely proposed for transfer to the World Bank. A policy of strengthening the political role of the Bank has correspondingly been adopted. In commenting on the replacement of its top leadership in June of 1986, the WASHINGTON POST newspaper called instructive in this regard the fact that the leadership went from professional banker A. Clausen to the professional political figure B. Conable.<sup>4</sup>

Table 2. Distribution of IBRD Member-Country Votes (%)\* %

IBRD Members	1949	1970	1986
Developed capitalist countries	72.9	67.5	65.0
Including:			
—the United States	33.5	24.5	19.7
—England	13.9	10.1	5.7
—West Germany	—	5.0	5.5
—France	5.8	4.1	5.5
—Japan	—	3.1	6.7
Developing countries	16.8	29.0	30.1
Including:			
—OPEC	—	4.6	8.0
Others**	10.3	3.5	4.9

Source: World Bank Annual Reports for the corresponding years.

\*—Each country has 250 "base" votes plus one vote for every share of stock in the IBRD belonging to it, valued at approximately 100,000 dollars.

\*\*—The PRC and some other socialist countries. In 1950-1980 Taiwan was represented in the IBRD, and its place has been occupied by the PRC since April of 1980. Since the PRC has a large quota, its inclusion of its votes in the group of developing countries before 1980 would markedly distort the picture.

The functions of the World Bank in the system of mutual relations between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries have long gone far beyond the bounds of the projects financed by the bank. Possessing a powerful scientific research apparatus and highly skilled specialist and practitioner personnel, it is essentially a center for devising and approving development strategy in the capitalist world. Bourgeois concepts are expressed in concentrated form in its activity in this realm.

What measures of "structural adaptation," and in whose interests, does the World Bank propose to the developing states? In order to answer this question, we must dwell on the correlation of forces of various groups of states in it.

The number of votes of the Bank member countries and its leading organs have exceedingly great significance. Voting in this organization is not structured on the democratic principle of "one country—one vote"; it depends on the scale of participation of this or that country in the stock capital. As can be seen from Table 2, there is a trend toward a decline in the share of the United States in the overall number of votes in the Bank as a result of the strengthening positions of the Western European countries and Japan. The share of the developing states is growing gradually, but considerably more slowly than the number of liberated countries that are members of the Bank (from 26 in 1947 to 120 today), which is explained by the insignificantly small quantity of World Bank stock that the majority of the liberated countries that have joined it have obtained.

According to the World Bank charter, the principal portion of its decisions are made by a simple majority of votes. A "special" majority of 75-80 percent is required to resolve a small number of issues of a strategic nature (for example, to increase capital, make corrections to the World Bank charter or exclude any country from the Bank). No single country, including the United States, has veto power on any issue at the World Bank. Decisions in the realm of the daily policy of this organization cannot be formalistic or made into a bloc even in the event of the combination of the votes of the United States and the EEC countries. The group of liberated countries in the aggregate has veto power on issues requiring a "special" majority of votes. Decisions are traditionally made by consensus rather than voting at the World Bank directorate.

At the same time, the nominal number of votes is just one of the altered structures of power at the World Bank. Also of extremely great significance is the fact that the principal portion of the operational resources of the World Bank are mobilized via the placement of bonds in the financial markets of the leading capitalist countries. The total loan funds attracted by them considerably exceeds the paid-in portion of stock capital (double in 1970, 5 times more in 1975 and 10 times more today).<sup>5</sup> Almost 3/4 of the World Bank bonds are placed in the capital markets of just four countries—West Germany, the United States, Japan and Switzerland. The necessity of winning the trust of the buyers of their bonds (first of all the major private banks, as well as the treasuries of the principal capitalist countries) has a material influence on the decisions of World Bank leadership.

The Bank's personnel have a definite influence on its policies, since the duties of its staffers include not only the collection and analysis of data on the economic situation of each country, but also the preparation of the decisions of the leading organizations of the World Bank and the conducting of negotiations with the borrower countries. The share of the developing countries among the personnel of the Bank is growing gradually (from 19 percent in 1968 to 36 percent in 1985).<sup>6</sup> The higher positions nonetheless remain occupied largely by Western specialists and politicians as before. The president of the World Bank is traditionally an American.

These depictions make it possible to conclude that the most important directions of the activity of the World Bank are defined by the dependence of that organization on the financial resources of Western governments and private investors. At the same time, the composition of the forces affecting the policies of the Bank has grown more complex over recent decades. It is hardly possible today to speak of the absolute dominance of the United States in this organization that was typical in the initial period of its activity. The American administration, however, remains the major shareholder of the World Bank and continues its efforts to have a powerful influence on World Bank decisions. This can be discerned

especially visibly using the example of the IDA [International Development Association], the resources of which are basically formed from periodic replenishments from the budgetary funds of the participating countries that make up the so-called Group I (the developed capitalist states and Kuwait). With each replenishment the U.S. administration usually "dickers" with the Bank leadership, trying to extract maximum political dividends from its contribution. In the course of the latest, seventh payment for the IDA, the United States slashed its contribution to 750 million dollars compared to the anticipated 1.2 billion.<sup>7</sup>

Reactionary circles in the American administration, not to mention other developed capitalist countries, are trying to depict the Bank as little more than a charitable institution that circulates the money of Western investors via the granting of credit to countries that cannot ensure their effective application. Realistically thinking figures in the West, as opposed to this, support the constructive contribution of the World Bank and the IDA to the development of the young states, taking into account first and foremost the long-term goals and the benefit that their activity brings to the firms of the developed countries and, ultimately, their economies.

The World Bank frequently serves as an arena for the manifestation of inter-imperialist contradictions, and the decisions it makes are essentially compromises among the Western states. In a number of cases, the representatives of the West have to maneuver so as to enlist support for this or that measure among delegates from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Being an intergovernmental organization, the Bank represents the common interests of capitalism, including those that may not coincide in this or that concrete situation with the interests of individual capitalist states or monopolies. One instance illustrating this position is the criticism of agricultural protectionism of the industrial capitalist countries and the policies of the private banks in relation to the developing countries that was formulated in the communique of a session of the Development Committee (a joint organ of the IMF and the World Bank) in April of 1987. This document notes the incompatibility of the current approach of the United States, the Western European countries and Japan to the problem of the product exports of the developing countries to the industrial countries with the task of improving competitive market conditions in the raw-material markets and the long-term growth prospects of the developing countries and their possibility of paying off their debts.

The development of the "debt crisis" at the beginning of the 1980s required a reconsideration by the World Bank of some principles of its activity. The charter of the Bank states that "credit granted or guaranteed by the Bank will be directed, aside from special circumstances, to the purpose of specific projects of reconstruction and development."<sup>8</sup> During the debt-crisis period, however, the debtor countries are experiencing a most acute need

for liquid funds to pay debt obligations and for routine imports. Another example. The World Bank has traditionally required a considerable share of intrinsic participation by the borrower in the projects financed by the Bank. In recent years, however, under conditions of "strict economy" in many debtor states, neither the governments nor private companies can provide their portion of the investment.

In order to settle the international indebtedness crisis, the World Bank was forced to create fundamentally new credit mechanisms, typical of which is a departure from the Bank's traditional principle of granting credit for specific projects. So-called "credit for the purposes of structural adaptation" was introduced into World Bank practice; the first such credit was granted to Kenya in 1980. This is long-term credit allocated for paying for any imports (except weapons and luxury items); in order to receive it, the "country must be ready to carry out extensive changes in its policies, programs and institutions to assist its economy in adapting to the more severe world economic climate of the 1980s."<sup>9</sup> In other words, resources are granted under a "program of political reforms," ensuring for the World Bank a qualitatively different level of intervention in the economic policies of the borrowing countries. With traditional credit, the influence of the Bank was limited to the framework of individual projects or sectors. Now an effort is being made to control the whole economic structure of a country and its long-term development and to take root in its political institutions. As is emphasized in the influential West German journal on problems of international trade and development, *INTERECONOMICS*, in the context of the new World Bank approach, "the effectiveness of the economic system (of the country receiving credit—G.A.), if not the overall social structure, is being called into question."<sup>10</sup>

The World Bank does not utilize only internal resources and tie the granting of them to certain requirements. The functions of the World Bank as a "catalyst" for the influx of private capital to the developing countries on long-term credit terms also acquires great significance under conditions of an international debt crisis. In January of 1983 the Council of Directors approved a series of new mechanisms for "joint financing" (with the private sector), including their partial participation and financing of projects, as well as World Bank guarantees of part of the commercial investment credit. Medium- and small-sized banks have a particular vested interest in "joint financing" with the World Bank. They trust the evaluations of projects being financed that are done by World Bank personnel, and they are attracted by its surveillance of the utilization of the funding granted. They count on the paramount payment of the obligations to the World Bank by the borrowing countries even in the case where the countries do not have enough foreign currency for other debt-service payments. At the same time, the restraint of the commercial banks on this issue causes relatively low interest rates for joint loans with

the World Bank and the impossibility of linking them directly with privileges for their investors—the exporters of capital.

The World Bank is devoting more and more attention to stimulating private direct and portfolio investment. An offensive on the investment legislation of many of the liberated countries that are striving to put the penetration of foreign capital into a definite framework was being waged by World Bank programs for a long time. Efforts to improve insurance for foreign investments in the developing countries from political risks have been added to this in recent years. A decision was made at the annual World Bank session in Seoul in October of 1985 to establish an International Agency for Investment Guarantees (IAIG) with a capitalization of approximately 1 billion dollars.

The activity of the IFC [International Finance Corporation], the amount of capital and operations of which have doubled, has become more active. In addition to the traditional direct investments in joint enterprises of local and foreign capital, the IFC has begun to create investment funds. Through these institutions, major contributors from the industrial countries obtain the opportunity of making portfolio investments in the stock of South Korean, Brazilian, Taiwanese and, in the future, other companies.

The mutual relations of the national governments with the World Bank are determined more and more by the receipt of official "aid" from the developed capitalist states. Within the framework of "aid consortia" headed by the World Bank, Western donors jointly monitor the use of resources and all of the economic policies of the recipient states. The especial importance of coordinating the "aid" within the framework of what the Bank calls "structural adaptations" is emphasized in recent documents of the Committee for Assisting the Development of OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development]. The Special Fund of the World Bank for Africa south of the Sahara, created in 1985, essentially fulfills this role.

The increasing coordination of the policies of Western creditors and donors is leading to an increase in the "conditional nature" of all foreign resources being granted to the liberated countries. The foundation of this "conditionality" can moreover no longer be comprised just of the "stabilization" measures of the IMF, the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of which is also apparent to the developed capitalist countries.

The activity of the World Bank is oriented to a greater and greater extent toward the concept of "structural adaptation," to the creation of which many well-known bourgeois scholars and specialists of international organizations made their contribution.<sup>11</sup> The basis of the concept of "structural adaptation" is the influence of external conditions, and especially the structural restructuring of the economies of the West, on the participation

of the developing countries in the international division of labor and on their financial and economic situation and the growth of indebtedness that were considered above. This concept takes into account the truly urgent necessity of the appropriate extensive changes in the national-economic structures of the young states. On the given objective basis, recommendations are made for the directions of these changes with special emphasis on eliminating the errors that supposedly accumulated during dependency. The most important function of this concept is to concentrate the efforts to resolve the international debt crisis of the developing countries on problems of the domestic economies of these countries with the preservation of the existing world economic order in its entirety.

Advocates of the concept of "structured adaptation," as opposed to the "stabilization" prescriptions of the World Bank, feel that the principal way of resolving the debt problem is accelerating economic growth and raising the efficiency of the national economies of the developing countries. A bet is made here on a "market," "open" economy. "Of paramount significance," notes a bulletin of the scientific research department of the World Bank, "is an understanding of the fact that adaptation transpires from changes in prices, taxes, tariffs, subsidies and other incentives that consumers and producers encounter in the economy."<sup>12</sup>

The conditions of the aforementioned "credit for the purpose of structural adaptation" serve as the realization of the World Bank's new approach. This credit has been granted by the Bank to over 20 countries, including Turkey—four times—and two times each to South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Kenya and Morocco etc.<sup>13</sup> Of the total amount of credit granted by the Bank to the developing states, some 20 percent fell to this form of credit in 1986 and at the beginning of 1987. In the words of World Bank President B. Conable, in the near future this share will be brought to 30 percent.<sup>14</sup> The remaining portion of World Bank funds will be invested as before in specific projects, but their implementation will also in the majority of cases be linked with these or those overall economic terms.

We will consider by way of illustration the terms in steps that are being proposed by the Bank for some "credit for the purpose of structural adaptation" as granted in 1987. The government of Zimbabwe, after prolonged negotiations, consented to satisfy World Bank terms for the "liberalization" of foreign-trade policy, review the system for allocating foreign currency to industrial and trade enterprises and reduce the state budget deficit in order to obtain credit. Uganda received joint credit from the IMF and the World Bank on condition of reducing the budget deficit and devaluing the national currency. The Bank granted credit to Indonesia for the purpose of continuing the governmental program of economic reforms aimed at overcoming the consequences of the sharp decline of world oil prices. Six months prior to obtaining credit, the government of Indonesia

announced a series of measures to attract foreign investment and to stimulate non-petroleum exports via a reduction in tariff barriers to the import of essential raw materials, semi-manufactures, equipment and technology, as well as the devaluation of the national currency in relation to the dollar. These policies initially led to a further worsening of the country's balance of payments. The leadership of the World Bank, however, insisting on a further elimination of import limitations, withdrew its readiness to finance the current requirements of Indonesia for foreign currency, ensuring a prolongation of its policy of long-term restructuring of the economy.

Practically all of the country-specific programs of the World Bank contain, in some combination or other, such elements as incentives for export orientation of the national economy in accordance with prevailing "relative advantages" and the realization of projects bringing a rapid return in this sphere; steps in the realm of price formation that alter the relative incentives for production and distribution in various sectors; raising interest rates and changes in taxation; and, "institutional" reforms, including review of the activity of state enterprises.

The substance of the "structural adaptation" measures proposed by the World Bank is defined by its functions as representative of the general interests of capitalism under conditions of a trend toward the mutual dependence of states in the world community (the increase in this trend was pointed out in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress).<sup>15</sup> The World Bank has a vested interest in finding a way out of the critical overall economic and financial situation of the developing world. The shifts occurring in the economies of the developed capitalist states and their orientation toward the development of the leading scientifically sophisticated sectors therein is making it unprofitable for the West to preserve the industrial backwardness of the developing world in its earlier form.<sup>16</sup>

Concerned with the development interests of the capitalist countries, the World Bank at the same time is ignoring the fact that the existing inequality in international economic relations in the capitalist world is facilitating an increase in the exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies by the imperialist states. The Bank's typical reliance on the "adaptation" of the internal economic structures of the young states is objectively aiding the preservation of the current situation, where the liberated countries are primarily passive objects of influence for the unpredictable play of world market forces.

Frequently correctly discerning the bottlenecks and disproportions in the economies of the countries that receive its credit, and defects in their economic policies in the same manner, the World Bank is at the same time

biased in its choice of restructuring. The Bank recognizes only those among the possible alternative solutions that, as we have been noting, keep to the model of a "market economy."

The World Bank's concept of "structural adaptation" is largely the result of U.S. influence. "Since 1980," acknowledges the newspaper *FINANCIAL TIMES*, "the right wing of donors, especially the American administration, has exerted pressure not only directly on the governments of the Third World countries, but also on the World Bank and the IMF, demanding the privatization of state enterprises."<sup>17</sup> Political figures, economists and political scientists in the United States emphasize of late, for example, that "a liberalization of trade cannot be a one-way street... It is unjustified, especially for the more developed countries, to preserve trade barriers that do not correspond to their level of economic progress and degree of export market competitiveness."<sup>18</sup>

The proviso should be made that making the utilization of money-exchange relations more active in and of itself does not predetermine the path of development. The involvement of the traditional sector of the economies of the developing countries in market relations moreover would create gigantic resources for production accumulation. The World Bank programs of recommendations for the "liberalization" of market forces, however, are accompanied by demands for the denationalization and curtailment of the operational economic activity of the state. It is obvious that such postulations serve the development of capitalism in the debtor countries. But what sort of capitalism? In the liberated states, there are frequently no alternatives to the state for the development of many types of business activity. The fulfillment of the recommendations for privatization of the sphere of basic services and the introduction of payments for them thus lead to the incorporation of foreign capital and a strengthening of the dependent nature of the development of the young states.

The World Bank recommends essentially similar measures in the realm of foreign economic exchange to all the developing countries regardless of the enormous differences among them in the sizes of their domestic markets and other conditions. "The World Bank is convinced," writes the *FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW*, "that the developing countries should get rid of poverty, economic stagnation and the worsening indebtedness by copying the Southeast Asian model, making their economies more efficient and more oriented toward exports."<sup>19</sup> At first glance, this recommendation contradicts the interests of many influential circles in the developed capitalist countries that are opposed to an influx of competing goods from the young states. Under contemporary conditions, however, the stimulation of exports of finished goods from the developing countries is inevitably linked with imports of technology, equipment and components from the industrial states. Moreover, the more the young states accelerate their "export orientation," the more strongly they will compete among

each other under the conditions of the contemporary capitalist market. For many of the developing countries, the World Bank recommendations for "adaptation" in accordance with comparative benefits signifies chiefly a policy of expanding exports of raw-material commodities and conserving the single-crop structure of the economy. All of these factors also lead to a strengthening dependency of the "periphery" on the centers of world capitalism.

One new factor in the mutual ties under consideration is the fact that a considerable portion of the export income of the young states returns to the creditor countries in the form of debt payments and takes on the form of free monetary capital. The latter is utilized to a growing extent for development of the newest sectors in the creditor countries, while competition on the part of the developing countries facilitates the erosion of traditional and outmoded types of production. The implementation of the World Bank recommendations on "structural adaptation" thus make their contribution to the forced inclusion of the developing countries (as well as some circles opposed to this in the developed capitalist countries) in the new structure of the international division of labor corresponding to the modern stage of scientific and technical revolution. The financial forms of exploitation of the young states are becoming more and more intertwined with technological neocolonialism.

In researching the effectiveness of "credit for structural adaptation purposes" using the example of Malawi, British economists J. Kidde and A. Hewitt came to the following instructive conclusion in particular: "Within the framework of this credit, the Bank was insisting on an increase in taxation and the introduction of the principle of reimbursing spending with the granting of governmental services. We adhere to the opinion that in view of the very low income of the majority of the Malawians, the range of solutions to budgetary problems is thus limited, while the danger of depriving the poor of these services is considerable." The authors do not doubt that the price increases recommended for foodstuffs "will be a blow to the urban poor, as well as the rural households that suffer from a shortage of land and manpower."<sup>20</sup>

The stimulation of priority (i.e. providing the quickest and most palpable return) projects and programs that is envisaged overall by the policy of "structural adaptation," as is justly noted by A.Ya. Elyanov, "hardly touches the extensive economic periphery providing the means for existence for the principal body of the population at all."<sup>21</sup> An exceedingly candid acknowledgment was made in a World Bank document: "The framework of the programs of structural adaptation still has a poor regard for who will bear the principal burden of it. The Bank, as a rule, does not touch on acute issues at the politically highest levels associated with the consequences of raising production efficiency through the rejection of steps to fight poverty."<sup>22</sup>

A neglect for the social consequences of the changes being undertaken is thus typical of both the requirements advanced by the World Bank and the terms posed by the IMF. Moreover, as acknowledged by a number of Western researchers, the terms of "credit for the purpose of structural adaptation" by the World Bank prove to be even more harsh than IMF prescriptions. "The World Bank is intervening more and more directly in problem-solving processes," writes West German economist D. Radke.<sup>23</sup> "The strict economy measures of the IMF," notes British researcher Ch. Peyer, "could quickly be curtailed as soon as the money is received, which moreover is what usually happens. The Bank's policies are more ambitious and are aimed at achieving institutional changes that would not be so easy to reverse."<sup>24</sup> It is no accident that the day-to-day activity of the Bank and the Fund in recent years has been more and more closely tied to and coordinated with credit terms, joint missions are sent to the interested countries and there frequently occurs a partial merging of the statistical apparatus. The coordination of actions of both institutions ensures them a more prolonged and comprehensive influence on the economic policies of the developing debtor countries.

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The activation of the role of the World Bank marks a "second stage" in the approach of the West to settling the problem of the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries—a consideration of it in a more long-term perspective and increasing attention to questions of economic growth in the debtor countries. In the 1980s, the World Bank is conducting a policy of broad-scale influence over the management of the national economies of the developing countries in the interests of the rapid development of dependent capitalism in them. The goals of the leading Western states—the principal stockholders of the Bank—are met by somewhat of an easing of the current financial and economic difficulties of the developing world, but by such means that strengthen the integrated nature of the former colonies in the system of the world capitalist economy and expand the opportunities for exploiting them by contemporary methods.

The chief capitalist countries, with the aid of the World Bank, are trying to resolve the debt problem through internal changes in the debtor states within the framework of the prevailing system of world economic ties. The groundlessness of these efforts is becoming more and more apparent in recent years. "The problem of foreign indebtedness," notes a USSR Government Memorandum, "is a component of the relations of the developing countries with the West, and its genuine solution cannot be achieved without a restructuring of international economic relations on a just, equal and democratic basis."<sup>25</sup> Among the important elements of this solution are the rejection of any forms of discrimination and any violations of the principle of mutual benefit in international economic exchange, a restructuring of the

international financial and currency system with a regard for the interests of all states and the democratization of international financial and currency organizations.

#### Footnotes

1. The IBRD [World Bank] was created simultaneously with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944. The principal task of the IBRD, in accordance with its charter, is to stimulate productive international capital investment via supporting private interests, as well as granting long-term investment credit from its own and invested financial resources. The IBRD has two branches—the International Financial Corporation (IFC) and the International Development Association (IDA)—founded in 1956 and 1960 respectively. They jointly comprise the so-called IBRD Group, or the World Bank. The IMF, as opposed to the IBRD itself, can grant credit to private enterprises without governmental guarantees, as well as carry out direct capital investment in developing countries. The IDA grants credit on favorable terms (no-interest, 50-year terms) to countries with a low per-capita income level.

2. Handelsblatt, 7 Aug 85; Third World Quarterly. April, 1986, p 658.

3. The Financial Times. 4 Oct 85.

4. The Washington Post. 22 Jun 86, p 6.

5. Calculated from: World Bank Annual Reports for the corresponding years.

6. R. McNamara. Address to the Board of Governors. Nairobi: The World Bank, 1973, p 4; World Bank Annual Report, 1986, p 132.

7. World Bank Annual Report, 1986, p 132.

8. Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (As Amended Effective 17 Dec 65). Washington, p 1.

9. IMF Survey. 14 Dec 81, p 395.

10. Intereconomics. July/August 1984, p 169.

11. See: S. Dell. The International Environment for Adjustment in Developing Countries.—World Development. November 1980; J. Polack. Review of the Balance of Payments Adjustment Process in Developing Countries.—Journal of Money, Credit and Banking. November, 1982; M.S. Khan, M.D. Knight. Determinants of Current Account Balances of Non-Oil Developing Countries in the 1970s.—IMF Staff Papers. December 1983; S. Dell, R. Laurence. The Balance of Payments Adjustment Process in Developing Countries. N.Y., 1983; et al.

12. World Bank Research News. Fall/Winter, 1983, p 7.
13. World Bank Annual Report, 1986, p 21.
14. The Financial Times. 28 Mar 87, p 29.
15. See: Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress, Moscow, 1986, pp 20-21.
16. See: MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA. 1986, No 3, p 61.
17. The Financial Times. 2 Aug 85, p 10.
18. Foreign Affairs. Summer 1984, p 1051.
19. Far Eastern Economic Review. 19 Jul 84, p 82.
20. World Development. March 1986, p 362.
21. MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA. 1983, No 12, p 121.
22. Third World Quarterly. July 1984, p 708.
23. D. Radke. Auflagenpolitik und Politik-Dialog in der Entwicklungspolitik. Zusammenarbeit.—Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik. (West) Berlin, 1985, pp 71-72.
24. Third World Quarterly. April 1986, p 665.
25. PRAVDA. 28 Jan 86.

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**Ulyanovskiy Book Profiles Three Leaders of Modern India**

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[Review by O.V. Martyshev of book "Tri lidera velikogo indiyanskogo naroda" [Three Leaders of the Great Indian People] by R.A. Ulyanovskiy. Moscow, Politizdat Publishing House, 1986, 230 pp]

[Text] This book includes sketches of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Two of them have already been published in the USSR and abroad, but they have been revised for this edition. Fragments of the sketch on Indira Gandhi were published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, but this is the first time it appears in complete form.

R.A. Ulyanovskiy is well known for his research into the socio-economic and economic problems of India, which he has been doing for over half a century. In this publication, intended for the general reader, he sets forth

in condensed form his views on the development of this great Asian country of the 20th century, since the three leaders to whom the book is devoted represent three generations of Indians and their political life essentially embraces all of the country's recent history.

Mahatma Gandhi appears in the pages of the book as a unique personality who was the first person in the history of the Indian national-liberation movement to bring the idea of the struggle for independence and an understanding of the necessity of participating in it to the consciousness of every resident of India. The transformation of the INC [Indian National Congress] from a club of liberal politicians into a popular patriotic movement is linked with his activity. Action and resistance to colonialism were his slogans. Ulyanovskiy recalls the statement of J. Nehru that it was sooner fearlessness (*abkhayya*) than non-violence (*akhimsa*) that was the testament of M. Gandhi to the nation.

The greatest contribution of Gandhi to the history of India was the fact that he saw his goal as uniting the whole country, all of its peoples, creeds, castes, cultures and social segments, to repulse British imperialism, and he fought tirelessly for the achievement of this goal, sometimes successfully. The mass campaigns of civil disobedience and non-violent resistance organized by Gandhi were a powerful means of mobilization and ultimately proved to be effective along with other, less massive but more radical means of pressure. As the book's author emphasizes, the absolutization of any single method of struggle, be it armed or non-violent resistance, is alien to genuine Marxists. But they always felt that if peaceful methods promise success, they should undoubtedly be given preference over all others.

Non-violent resistance not only made the nation more cohesive, not only provided the national-bourgeois leadership with a movement, it also guaranteed the privileged segments of Indian society from hapless encroachments on their class interests. M. Gandhi followed this line consistently, feeling that the resolution of all internal contradictions should be deferred until the winning of independence. In this sense, the leadership of M. Gandhi made it possible for Indian capital to control the situation. But the class egotism of the bourgeoisie, like its principles and ideals, were alien to Gandhi. He feared the appearance of "Indian Rockefellers," repudiated capitalist civilization and appealed for a resurrection of the humanist principles of ancient communal society. His ideal was the *sarvodaya*—in Ulyanovskiy's opinion a version of peasant utopian socialism—while the so-called "Testament" of Gandhi, written on the last day of his life, testified to his determination to fight for the implementation of justice as it was understood by millions of Indian peasants.

Whereas Mahatma Gandhi embodied national traditions that were millenia old, which made it possible for him to strike the widest possible chord among the masses, J. Nehru strove toward the future. Beginning in

the 1920s he was perhaps the sole leader of the INC who attracted the attention of the leadership to the international factors and conditions of India's fight for independence. Nehru was an advocate of the synthesis of civilizations. He was convinced that India should make use of all of the achievements of technical progress in contemporary academic thought. But Nehru was attracted to the West by more than technology alone. The workers' and democratic movements and the ideas of scientific socialism had a profound effect on him. He was one of the first leaders of the national movement who understood and had a high regard for the unsurpassed liberation significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its effect on the course of the anti-colonial struggle. He was inspired by the successes of the USSR in the spheres of industrialization and culture, health care and education and in the realm of resolving the issue of nationalities. He extended a hand of friendship to the Soviet Union, thus responding to the appeal of V.I. Lenin to unite the victorious socialist revolution with the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

Linked with the name of Nehru are the formation of the foreign and domestic policy of India, the progressive principles of non-aligned, peaceful co-existence, disarmament, economic planning, industrialization, the creation of a powerful state sector and the like.

As Ulyanovskiy notes, J. Nehru was indebted for all that was best in his legacy "to the attraction to socialism, to progress, to scientific socialist theory" (p 166). It led him to the idea of the union of the forces of progress and collaboration with the USSR and conditioned the INC's proclamation as its goal the building of a "model socialist society." "In the face of all of the indistinctness of the socialist ideal of Nehru," the book says, "what remains as an immutable fact is that he was one of the first leaders of the national-liberation movement who understood the narrowness of anti-imperialist nationalism and the necessity of turning it in a socialist direction. This is the unsurpassed historical merit of the first prime minister of independent India" (pp 166-167).

In the activity of Indira Gandhi, the book's author especially notes here efforts aimed at continuing the policies of Nehru, the energetic repulse of the right-wing circles of the INC striving to revise the concept of a model socialist society at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s and the desire to rely on the masses, based on the program of first 10 and then 20 points aimed at improving their situation. Ulyanovskiy thinks that it is namely the failure to fulfill this program for a series of domestic and external reasons that led to the temporary decline in the reputation of the INC in the middle of the 1970s and the imposition of a state of emergency that called into question the INC's dedication to the principles of political democracy. Encountering the Janat Party's inability to accomplish the effective leadership of the country, however, I. Gandhi found within herself the courage and power to win the trust of the Indian people once again. As the author stresses, the

INC(I) and the heirs of I. Gandhi have no surer means of ensuring the solid support of the people than implementing socio-economic transformations in favor of the exploited working masses.

A shining page in the political biography of I. Gandhi was her activity as chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. She made a significant contribution to the development of Soviet-Indian relations, testimony to which is the treaty of friendship and collaboration between the USSR and India of 1971. In the later years of her life, I. Gandhi devoted much effort to the struggle to reinforce the unity and territorial integrity of India. She justly felt this problem to be most important and gave her life in the name of accomplishing this noble aim.

This book came out on the eve of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to India that raised Soviet-Indian collaboration to a new stage and was crowned with the adoption of the Delhi Declaration signed by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Prime Minister of India. The declaration confirmed the fundamental commonality of the approach of the two great powers to the principal international problems of modern times. This is a profoundly natural phenomenon. The concept of new thinking advanced at the 27th CPSU Congress was not the result of Soviet experience alone. It summarizes all that is best in international relations in recent decades, including the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi for friendship among peoples and the rejection of violence, peaceful co-existence and other principles of the foreign policy of J. Nehru and the development of these principles by I. Gandhi. It is namely this that has ensured the broad unity of the views of the leaders of the two states, opening up further prospects for the joint struggle for peace of India and the Soviet Union, the Non-Aligned Movement and the socialist states.

Ulyanovskiy's new book, which devotes much attention to an analysis of the views of the three Indian leaders in international relations, makes its own contribution to reinforcing the friendship of both countries that has become an important factor of peace on Earth.

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